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The Left Wing and the Revolution

By Louis C. Fraina

THE distinguishing feature of the controversy in the Socialist Party between the Right Wing and the Left Wing, between the moderates and the revolutionists, is that the Right Wing refuses to develop and defend its real program. This is partly fear, partly camouflage, and partly sheer stupidity.

The moderates have a program, and a consistent program. It consists of parliamentarism, of reforming Capitalism out of existence, of municipalization and nationalization of industry on the basis of the bourgeois parliamentary state, of the theory that the coming of Socialism is the concern of all the classes,—in short, the policy of the moderates (which is in itself consistent, while inconsistent with fundamental Socialism) is a policy of petit bourgeois, "liberal" State Capitalism. But this policy broke down miserably under the test of the great crisis of Imperialism; it broke down under the test of the proletarian revolution, and revealed itself as fundamentally counter-revolutionary.

But the moderates, essentially, still cling to this reactionary policy, although they are compelled by circumstances to disguise it, to camouflage it with cheap talk about "being left wing" and "a shift to the left" in the international movement, compelled to wait until "normal" times in order openly to defend their reactionary policy. So the moderates refuse to discuss the fundamentals of the Left Wing Manifesto and Program; they refuse to oppose their real policy to ours; they dare not.

Accordingly, the Right Wing indulges either in vituperation of our revolutionary comrades, in threats of expulsion (guardians of the unity of the Party!), or in sophistry.

Characteristic of this sophistry was Algonern Lee's letter in the *Call* of April 2nd. Lee implies that the acceptance of the Left Wing policy depends upon an actual revolutionary crisis, and says:

Have we reason to expect a revolutionary crisis in this country in the proximate future, aside from the possibility of such a crisis being voluntarily precipitated by one element or another? In such a crisis, if it should be precipitated (no matter by whom) would the majority of the people probably be actively with us or against us? Or would the majority remain neutral and inert, ready to accept the outcome of the combat between a revolutionary minority and a reactionary majority? In this latter case, taking into account only the supposed active minorities, which of them would probably win in a decisive struggle at this time? On the basis of our answers to these questions, have we reason to seek or welcome a hastening of the crisis?

These are fundamental questions. Upon the answers we give to them must rest our decision on detailed problems of methods and tactics. They are unescapable questions.

It is important to understand the immediate "moment" in the great social struggle as a basis for action; but Lee uses it to make arguments against action.

The policy of the Left Wing, in general, which is the policy of revolutionary Socialism, is not a policy only for an actual revolutionary crisis. The

tactics of the class struggle, of the unflinching antagonism on all issues between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, function in "normal" as well as in "revolutionary" times.

It didn't require an actual revolutionary crisis to oppose the imperialistic war.

It didn't require a revolutionary crisis to make Lee's acceptance of the war "in order to save the Russian Revolution" a betrayal of Socialism.

It didn't require a revolutionary crisis to make Lee's voting for Liberty Bonds, a betrayal of Socialist practice.

It didn't require a revolutionary crisis to make Lee's voting for a "Liberty Arch," on which is inscribed "Murmansk" as a glory of the American troops, a betrayal of the international proletarian revolution in general, and the Soviet Republic in particular.

It doesn't require a revolutionary crisis to condemn the policy of petty-bourgeois reformism and compromise pursued by Algonern Lee and his confederates in the Board of Aldermen.

And it doesn't require an actual or immediate revolutionary crisis to accept the Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing; but this acceptance is necessary for the immediate struggle of the moment, and as a preparation of our forces for the revolutionary struggle that is coming.

Let us discuss this problem more fully. It is necessary to completely expose the miserable arguments of the Right.

The central concepts of Left Wing theory and practice are mass action and proletarian dictatorship. From these concepts flow three sets of tactics: before, during and after the Revolution. The immediate "moment" in the social struggle may compel a different emphasis; but the tactics are a unity, adaptable to the particular requirements of the social struggle.

Mass action implies the end of the exclusive concentration on parliamentary tactics. It implies awakening the industrial proletariat to action, the bringing of mass proletarian pressure upon the capitalist state to accomplish our purposes. It means shifting the centre of our activity from the parliaments to the shops and the streets, making our parliamentary activity simply a phase of mass action, until the actual revolution compels us completely to abandon parliamentarism. Mass action has its phases. It isn't necessary to have an actual revolution in order to use mass action,—before the final form of mass action we may use its preliminary forms, in which, however, the final form is potential. Take, for example, our class war prisoners. It is necessary to compel their liberation. The Right Wing depends upon appeals to the Government which has imprisoned our comrades, upon liberal public opinion, upon co-operation with bourgeois and essentially reactionary organizations in "Amnesty" conventions,—upon every thing except the aggressive mass effort of the proletariat. The Left Wing proposes a mass political strike to compel the liberation of our imprisoned comrades,

to bring proletarian pressure upon the Government. Get the workers to down tools in the shops, march to other shops to pull out the workers there, get out in the streets in mass demonstrations,—that is mass action we can use now, whether or not we are in an actual revolutionary crisis.

In proletarian dictatorship is implied the necessity of overthrowing the political parliamentary state, and after the conquest of power organizing a new proletarian state of the organized producers, of the federated Soviets. These concepts were implied (if not fully expressed) in revolutionary industrial unionism, which equally contained in itself the implication of mass action. Revolutionary industrial unionism placed parliamentarism in its proper perspective. The acceptance of and the propaganda for revolutionary industrial unionism did not require an actual revolutionary crisis; yet the moderates refused to accept this vital American contribution to revolutionary theory and practice (even refused to accept industrial unionism as necessary in the immediate economic struggle).

No! It is miserable sophistry to affirm that the Left Wing policy accords only with actual revolution. That is precisely what the moderates in Europe said. When the war broke, the moderates (led by Scheidemann, Cunow, Plekhanov and Kautsky), declared that the Basel Manifesto had proven wrong in expecting an immediate revolution, that the masses had abandoned Socialism, therefore—they had to support an imperialistic war! But the Basel Manifesto did not assume an immediate revolution; it asserted that war would bring an economic and social crisis, and that Socialism should use this crisis to hasten the coming of revolutionary action.

The moderates in Germany said it was absurd to expect a revolution; and then they used all their power to prevent a revolution. And when the proletarian revolution loosed itself in action, the moderates acted consistently and ferociously against the revolutionary proletariat.

In Russia, the moderates said a proletarian revolution was impossible; but when it came, they acted against the revolution.

That is the attitude of the moderate Socialists everywhere, who are riveted with chains of iron to the bourgeois parliamentary state, who are absorbed in futile petty bourgeois reformism and the "gradual penetration of Socialism into Capitalism." Their arguments may appear plausible, until the test of the proletarian revolution reveals them as sophistry. Lee's arguments and policy are characteristic of the Scheidemanns, the Hendersons and the Vanderveldes. . . .

Imperialism, roughly, appeared in 1900; and with its appearance developed the revolt against parliamentary Socialism,—Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism, Mass Action, Bolshevism, the Left Wing. Imperialism, as the final stage of Capitalism, objectively introduced the Social-Revolutionary epoch. But the dominant moderate Socialism did not adapt

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The New York COMMUNIST

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May Day

MAY DAY is the revolutionary holiday—the day of the class-conscious proletariat.

This year it will dawn upon at least two Soviet Republics—Russia and Hungary—and perhaps more, for in these days a week is a long time in which to overturn a world. Bavaria appears to be consolidating her proletarian government. As we go to press, the Italian frontier is closed on account of "revolutionary events." Everywhere in Europe the proletariat is stirring or rising to take the power.

May Day of this year will be greeted by the European workers with many demonstrations of joy and hope. In many cases of this country, too, there are elaborate plans for uniting the working class in one demonstration for many working class causes. For instance, one group will hail the proletarian revolutions of Europe; another, protest the imprisonment of Mooney; another, unemployment; another will demand the withdrawal of American troops from Russia; and so on.

Only in New York we have made no extensive preparations for the great day. The Socialist Party will hold a series of protest meetings, in different parts of the city, for Debs; the Mooney Committee will have a Mooney mass-meeting in Madison Square Garden, in full control of the "yellow" labor leaders—the seats on the floor carefully distributed among the "good" unions, and the "reds" expelled to the gallery; and several foreign language Socialist Branches will celebrate the revolutions in Europe.

This gives the affair an aspect of scattered and half-hearted endeavor, whose effect as a demonstration will be entirely lost.

What ought to be done is to arrange a gigantic open air demonstration, or succession of demonstrations, uniting all proletarian elements in a mighty procession and meeting, whose size and spirit would carry the protests to the ears of those who only listen to great and determined economic power.

The workers should throw down their tools and declare a nation-wide May Day strike, combining with their holiday a blow at the foundations of the capitalist class, and a threat of more to come.

It is evident that nothing would be gained by a demonstration on a small scale—or by an Ellis Jones "revolution." The workers should come out on the street in vast numbers, paralyzing the city's industry, and parade peacefully to some central spot, where speeches can be made to fit the event.

If it is not possible to get fifty or a hundred

thousand workers out, then it would be better, under present conditions, not to attempt what would only result in provocation and violence on the part of the soldiers and the police.

The Peace Conference Breaking Up

THE world nowadays is acting very much as the Communist Manifesto says it ought to act. Nation by nation, the workers become aware of their class interests, rise, overthrow their rulers, and take into their own hands the reins of power. Absolutely according to Marxian theory do the various classes perform their part in the drama of Social Revolution, as if the hand of Marx were manipulating the strings that control them.

Capitalism is toppling over of its own sheer weight, spreading blood and death as it falls. At the throats of all the European Governments is the hand of their disillusioned workers. The imperialists do not dare openly to oppose the armed masses they have created as cannon-fodder; they do not dare, for example, to hurl great armies upon the Russian and the Hungarian Revolutions. And yet they cannot move without bringing the Revolution ever nearer to their people.

The Peace Conference at Paris is breaking up. The imperialists cannot agree over the spoils of war. The war was begun by two great groups of capitalist nations competing for control of world markets. And now the victorious Powers are grabbing. And the irony of it is, they do not dare not to grab!

The workers of all European countries are exhausted and bitter. They say, "You hurled us into war. You made fine promises to us if we fought and won for you. Now what do we get?"

The Governments understand perfectly well what the workers mean. They want power to control their own lives, more leisure, more freedom, a greater share in the products of their toil. But of course the ruling-class cannot give the workers these things—it would cut down profits. So they say to themselves, the diplomats in secret council—"We've got to show something for this. We've got to turn to the workers and say, 'Look at what we conquered for our country.' Of course the workers won't get anything out of it, but it will satisfy their patriotism to know that our flag waves over alien soil."

So when France seems to be balked of the Saar Valley, Clemenceau threatens the Big Four with revolution—unless the Saar Valley is annexed to satisfy the French workers. And when Italy seems about to lose Fiume, Sonnino says that unless Italian capitalists can exploit Fiume, the Italian working-class will go Bolshevik. And Japan, convinced that the Japanese workers will revolt unless China is handed over to Japanese capitalists to devour, also lays down her ultimatum. And the German capitalists raise the cry of "Bolshevism" more shrilly as the signing of the Peace Treaty draws nearer and nearer.

The French question was solved—let us hope that the fact that the tricolor waves over German

coal-mines will pacify the French coal-miners! But Wilson seems to be holding out against the claims of Italy and Japan.

If anything were needed to convince the workers of Europe—and of America—of the complete and cynical betrayal of all the "ideals" for which they were persuaded to support the war, the situation of the peaceless Peace Conference in Paris ought to finish the job.

For a Party of Action

THE revolutionary Socialists of the world are in action. The American Socialist Party elects delegates to the Berne Conference, and collects money for a new headquarters. American Labor is stirring, awakening; Seattle, Butte, inaugurate the period of mass-strikes with a revolutionary meaning. The American Socialist Party is interested in a National Amnesty Conference which will include bourgeois liberal organizations.

The International working-class is on the march. The American Socialist Party marks time. It hesitates whether or not to approve the Bolsheviks; it is undecided whether or not to endorse the Spartacists; it can't make up its mind about revolutionary industrial unionism. It doesn't know quite whether social reform planks should be left out of Party platforms; it leans toward Labor Parties, Non-Partisan Leagues, and other reform bodies; it sits down calmly under Red Flag ordinances, deprivation of halls to speak in.

The Right Wing says that the Party is powerless because the Left Wing is splitting it—because of the internal strife provoked by the Left Wing. This is untrue. The Left Wing was formed precisely because the Socialist Party is incapable of revolutionary action—because, in its present form, it is not a Party of the working-class, but a Party of compromise, dominated by petit-bourgeois psychology. It can raise money—but it cannot call strikes. It can defy the Government and go to jail—but it cannot back up its own spokesmen. It can protest in the Board of Aldermen against the closing of the halls—but it cannot hold meetings.

We do not wish to break up the Party. We do not wish to paralyze the Party's power. We wish to make it effective. We want to make Socialism mean something in the United States. We want the Socialist Party to be a working-class Party.

The hostility of the Party officialdom to the Left Wing, and the methods they employ to combat us, prove clearly that they have not the cause of Socialism at heart, but instead, only the Socialist Party.

Primarily we are Socialists—afterward, Party members. A Socialist Party without Socialism, or impregnated with the "Socialism" of the Second International, is like an apple full of worms—it looks good on the outside, but it won't make any cider.

We Agree With You, Comrade

Editor of The Communist:

I have read the first issue of your paper and must say that if you "leftwingers" have nothing better to show than a paper of this caliber, you must surely amount to nothing. The paper is full of hot air, badly written, and while reading it I could not help feeling like in the case of "milk" etc.

It would be a Godsend if the labor movement would rid itself of you cursed "intellectuals" who are never happy unless you can make your wonderful "intellectual" theme by stirring up more or less artificial trouble. To hell with most of you Doctors, Professors, Poets, Lawyers, etc., etc., and let us "common workers" do our own thinking and emancipating without such highbrows, who no doubt write The Communist, and waste the poor workers' money and energies into utter nothingness, and make a laughing stock of the Socialist movement.

JOHN GRAY

DON'T GET SORE BOYS. THEY DID IT FOR THE BEST!

"Debs is in prison. It is hard to keep down anger. It is hard to crush the deep resolve that some day we shall get even for all this. But we know we would not wish us to be angry; we know we would not wish to cherish hatred or seek revenge. And even if we did not know that, our hearts tell us there is nothing in revenge or hatred. No satisfaction, only more misery. So all that we can do now is to help the very ones, be cruel to him there. Men are often kinder than their governments."—New York Call

Let's all kiss the Supreme Court!

Welcome Home!

SOLDIER WORKERS!

For a year and a half you have been under arms—either on the battle-line in France, or in camp over here.

Some of you volunteered. The great majority of you were conscripted without being asked whether or not you wanted to go. But as free men and citizens, you would have refused to go if you had not believed that this was a War for Democracy, a War against Tyranny and Oppression, a War to Make the World a Better Place to Live In.

The War is over. You come home flushed with victory, eager for that increased measure of freedom that was promised you. As you sailed up the harbor, wild with the joy of home-coming—as you paraded the city streets, hung with banners and thunderous with cheering crowds—eagerly you looked around to see the signs of that new world which you believed you had hammered into shape with your cannon, and cemented with the blood of your fallen comrades.

Well, now that you have had time to look around, how does it strike you? Is there more democracy than before you went away? Although the War is over, workmen are still being sent to prison for speaking what they believe, while not one single professor has been punished with a day in jail. Gene Debs and Kate O'Hare go to the penitentiary for defending the rights of the workers, while the charges against the Phelps-Dodge thugs who deported workers from Bisbee, Arizona, into the desert, have been dropped by the Government. Working class papers are denied the mails, and suppressed, while the capitalist papers openly incite to violence and lynch law against working-class organizations, and get off scot-free.

The National Security League and other capitalist spy societies and White Guard organizations carry on, under the pretext of "fighting Bolshevism," an almost open fight against the working-class, but if a foreign-born worker dares to join the I. W. O., he is deported without trial—if they can get away with it. Root, Lodge and other defenders of the tyranny of the great trusts attack our Government without scruple, but there are fifteen hundred champions of the working-class in prison right now for daring to think differently about the Government than the ruling class permits.

The City of New York appropriates \$250,000 for decorations to welcome you home, and there are innumerable Victory Dinners at six dollars a plate, but you can't get jobs, not even the jobs you held before you went away—unless you'll reduce your former salaries.

WON A WAR—LOST A JOB!

You return to find industry closing down, bread-lines everywhere, prices of everything out of sight, and a lot of new millionaires who got rich manufacturing war materials. You had no plan of reconstruction, either on the part of the Government, or private employers. Everybody cheered you when you went away; everybody cheers you coming back; but a man can't live on cheers.

Your comrades in Siberia and North Russia are still at war, without a declaration of war, against the only Workingmen's Government in the world. In North Russia they are under English command, and in Siberia they are commanded by the Japanese. The Government will not tell them why they are fighting—the Government does not dare to tell them why they are fighting. They are sick at heart, enduring untold hardships.

Look abroad, to Paris, where our noble Allies squabble over annexations and indemnities, and plot to prevent the workers from taking over their own Governments.

The capitalist press, and the White Guards of the National Security League, incite you against the workers and their organizations. They tell you that "Bolshevism" is attempting to destroy our

era; their condition is worse than it was before the war; their Unions are being broken up, and industry is closing down in order to reduce those wages to a point below the living wage before the war.

Every effort of the workers to improve their condition was an effort for you, every demand of the workers for industrial democracy, is your demand. The revolutionary Labor movement is your movement. You belong to the working-class. You are workers—not soldiers. You are crushing yourselves when you help to crush the working-class revolution.

Be men. Join hands with the workers of Russia, of Hungary, of Italy, of England. Fall in! The iron battalions of the proletariat are forming.

The Left Wing and the Revolution

(Continued from page 1)

its practice to the new requirements; and it broke down miserably under the test of the war and of the proletarian revolution.

The war was the expression of the economic contradictions of Capitalism, of the insoluble problems of Imperialism. It is clear that Capitalism is breaking down; that the proletarian revolution is conquering. Capitalism cannot adjust itself to the new conditions, cannot solve its enormous economic problems. The world of Capitalism is in a revolutionary crisis,—more acute in Europe, less acute in the United States, but still a crisis. This crisis, which is a consequence of the economic collapse of Capitalism, provides the opportunity for Socialism to marshal the iron battalions of the proletariat for action and the conquest of power.

The final struggle against Capitalism is on; it may last months, or years, or tens of years, but this is a revolutionary epoch imposing revolutionary tactics. And revolutionary agitation is itself an act of revolution.

It is not our job to "hasten" a revolutionary crisis. Capitalism itself takes care of that. Our job is to prepare. Our job is to act on the immediate problems—unemployment, the soldiers, strikers, class war prisoners—in the spirit of revolutionary Socialism, in this way preparing the final action.

The Left Wing Program is a program of action, not a program of wishing for the moon. Sophistry can't annihilate it. Life itself is with us.

The Machinists on Unemployment

We, the machinists and metal workers in mass meeting assembled at Labor Temple, 14th Street and 2nd Avenue, New York City, on March 18th, 1919, do hereby adopt the following:

MANIFESTO!

Through the devoted service of the workers in industry and the workers on the battlefields, the war has been brought to a happy conclusion. The bitter strife between capital and labor was for a brief subordinated to what the American President called a war "to make the world safe for democracy." But now, when the struggle among the nations of the world is for the present at an end, the fight between the classes is once more being waged with unshaken ferocity.

Vast numbers of war workers and fighters who are anxious to toil with the streets in hopeless quest of a job. Those who are still at their benches and machines must submit to unpalatable reductions in the standards of working conditions. The employed and the unemployed are being played off against each other with the result that the solidarity of the workers is impaired.

At this time it is therefore necessary for the producers in every industry to recognize and proclaim their essential unity. One worker must not, and as a matter of sheer economic necessity cannot, thrive at the expense of another. The unemployed constitute the whip over the heads of those who are working, so that the interests of both are really identical. Any necessary reductions in the cost of commodities must be made by cutting profits rather than wages. In a word, we believe that the workers constitute one class, with one set of interests to fight for, and one enemy to fight against.

The one thing that stands out most clearly in regard to the unemployment problem is the utter hopelessness of finding a solution to it under the present capitalist system of production. So long as men produce for profit and not for use, there will be an army of unemployed—an army which periodically swells to enormous numbers. To-day we are passing through one of these periodic unemployment crises.

We affirm the responsibility of eliminating unemployment by any means short of the overthrow of the present economic edifice and the substitution in its place of a system where the workers themselves own and control their industries and administer them through managers of their own choice. The utmost we can hope to accomplish under the present economic arrangement is to alleviate conditions, to ease the suffering, to reduce unemployment. For that purpose we urge our fellow workers everywhere, regardless of their individual affiliations, to join us in our pledge for concerted action to win the following demands:

1. We demand a substantial reduction in the hours of labor, without a reduction in wages.
2. We demand the elimination of overtime.
3. We demand the abolition of the piece-work system in the metal industry.
4. We call upon our municipal, state and federal authorities to undertake necessary engineering projects, providing high standards of wages and working conditions to the workers on such projects.
5. We demand the elimination in industry of children below 16.
6. We ask that a conference be called of the various metal unions, such union representatives not to include officials of the organizations.

Resolved, That copies of this Manifesto be sent to the press and to labor organizations.
Unanimously adopted.

"free institutions." They finance soldier-papers like *Treat 'Em Rough*, which is backed by James Farrell of the United States Steel Corporation and other capitalists who hate the workers, to urge you to attack Socialist meetings. They whisper that while you were suffering and risking your lives in sinking trenches for thirty dollars a month, the workers at home were on strike for enormous wages. This is a lie. The fabulous wages reported in the newspapers only applied to a small fraction of the skilled workers. The high cost of living has wiped out that increase for the great body of work-

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The Plan that Went Awry

ON Tuesday, April 22, Executive Secretary Gerber called the Central Committee of Local New York to order about ten minutes before the scheduled time because it was obvious that a majority of the 'early comers' were Right Wing delegates.

The session was one of the most important held in recent months, it being understood that the matter of the "reorganization" of the 17th Assembly District Branch (which is dealt with in full on another page) would be the *piece de resistance* of the evening. U. Solomon and Maximilian Cohen were nominated for the chair, Solomon obtaining a majority of the votes. A point of order was raised on the fact that the recalled delegates of the 17th A. D. participated in the voting. This was overruled and an appeal was taken from the decision of the chair, in which the chair was sustained—the recalled delegates voting solidly against the appellant.

On the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting a correction was made to the effect that Cohen and Joseph Brodsky had resigned from the platform committee. The Executive Secretary proceeded to read the credentials for the seating of new delegates, an objection being recorded to seating Algernon Lee, who was recently recalled as delegate from the 8th A. D. and who now appeared as a delegate from the 16th A. D., to which branch he had transferred, although not living within its territory. After the reading of the credentials of a few regularly elected delegates of both factions to whom no objection was made, Gerber read what purported to be the credentials for 13 delegates from the "reorganized" 17th A. D. A storm of disapproval forced the reading of the credentials of the 13 delegates who were elected at a regular meeting of the 17th A. D., and whose credentials were signed by the regular secretary of the branch.

On a motion Beckerman moved that the action of the City Executive Committee in handpicking 13 delegates be concurred in, and that the little band of machine-finished Comrades be seated. A point of order was immediately made that the recalled delegates should not be allowed to vote on this question. The chair ruled the point "not well taken" and his decision was challenged by Brady amid great confusion and continual interruptions from both sides. For a time the noise was deafening, the members of the 17th A. D. who were to be "reorganized" out of existence, and who crammed the back of the hall, adding considerably to the general excitement.

Quiet was finally obtained by the booming voice of Sipos, who succeeded in having all delegates from the 17th A. D. disenfranchised temporarily, the Rights apparently feeling that the chairman's previous ruling revealed a too obvious bias. Beckerman then took the floor in support of his motion, and after addressing himself to the subject for the space of a minute, launched into a bitter denunciation of the Left Wingers. Intoxicated by the power of his own vituperation he leaped from insult to insult, and finally succeeded in drawing cries of objection from the Left; Brady, finally getting the floor on a point of order, asked the chair to discipline the speaker. This the chair refused to do on the ground that unparliamentary language had been used by both sides, and at the same time expressed his pleasure at the way in which Beckerman had given tongue to what the entire Right was thinking. Renewed protests greeted this decision, and Beckerman finally announced his intention of yielding the floor, upon which the Right set up a violent protest, Grossman seizing him by the shoulders and refusing to let him take his seat.

After Beckerman had finished, Cohen rose to an

amendment that a committee of seven, three from the Right, three from the Left and an impartial chairman, be appointed to investigate the entire matter of the 17th A. D. Vehement protests from the Right greeted the amendment, which would have halted the now obvious plan to jam through the "reorganization" scheme as a preliminary to the disenfranchising of the entire Left Wing. Gerber then took the floor in support of the original motion, declaring that he "had no wish to hide behind the bush," and intimating that they were determined to oust the Left Wing completely. Renewed pandemonium greeted these remarks, applause from the Right and protest from the Left.

Copstein, a member of the Executive Committee, got the floor and started to make a speech, when the machine gave him the cue to call the previous question. This he immediately did, the chair attempting to place the matter before the house. A point of order that it is not permissible to call the question after starting to make a speech was overruled. Appeal followed point of order and point of order succeeded appeal until it was announced that the chair was willing to take a roll-call vote on the matter of the previous question.

Cohen protested this decision on the ground that a committee representing 96 members of the 17th

A. D. was present, and that they should be heard before the vote was taken. This caused further uproar, the Rights wanting to jam the matter through without any hearing. Eisenbudd, a member of the 17th A. D. committee took the floor, and insisted on his right to be heard. Violent opposition from the Right caused renewed uproar, during which several fist fights took place, following an assault from the Right on Hourwich. When the confusion was at its height a Police Captain was brought in by some of the Right Wingers and the meeting was adjourned.

A hurried caucus by the machine resulted in the announcement by Karlin, who had usurped the functions of chairman, that the Central Committee would not meet again until called by the Executive Committee. The plan to force through the "reorganization" scheme fell to pieces, and in a fit of pique the Right made the false move of illegally taking it upon themselves to suspend the Central Committee during the pleasure of the Executive Committee. This is illegal, as the Central Committee is a superior body to the Executive, but "whom the gods would destroy they first make mad" and the machine is going from illegality to illegality, until finally it must collapse of its own innate futility.

Saved by the Bourgeoisie

By A. Nyemanoff

IF the Socialist Party of America was not represented at the Berne Social-Patriotic Conference, its honor and dignity in this instance were saved, not by the revolutionary act of its leaders, but through the action of the American Government, which deliberately delayed the issuance of passports to the three opportunists who were ready to start for Berne. In other words, the Party's honor was saved by its class enemies.

And yet, have the Party's leaders profited by the Berne lesson? Have they realized that their actions in that direction have been detrimental to the interests of the Party?

Not a bit. One of the delegates to the Berne Conference, the associate editor of the *New York Call*, James O'Real, went to Europe at the first opportunity. The aim of his trip is to find out the state of affairs in the European Socialist movement. He intends to visit Huymans, the Secretary of the "International Bureau" of the non-existent International, and have a talk with the Committee which was elected by the Berne Conference, which includes such personages as Trevelata, Branting and Henderson.

It really means that after all, diplomatic secret negotiations and the "feeling of the ground" will begin again for the purpose of effecting an understanding with the traitors. It means that compromise with the declared enemies of the working class will begin all over again. And all this will be done in spite of the will of the large masses of our Party, who have on several occasions expressed themselves as against any union with the Renaudels and Schoenmanns.

But in our Party's kitchen there is being cooked another dish which our National Executive Committee intends to offer to the Party members.

What took place in Berne on a large scale, the American Social-Patriots intend to duplicate in Buenos Ayres on a miniature scale.

At the invitation of Argentina's Social-Patriotic party in Buenos Ayres, towards the end of this

month a congress of representatives of all Socialist parties of the American continent will take place.

In the first place we must remember that the Argentine "Socialist" party, which calls this congress, was officially represented at the Berne Conference. The representatives of that party, during their sojourn in Europe, made a number of statements which clearly demonstrate the fact that they heartily support the bankrupt second International. If this is so, then our ways part. Our comrades in Argentina are not these, but the Left Socialists, who in 1918 severed their relations with the social-patriots.

The National Executive Committee of the American Socialist Party has decided already to participate and has delegated Dan Hogan, a member of the National Committee, to the Buenos Ayres congress.

The appointment of Dan Hogan was an act of lawning severity towards the American government. In Party circles Dan Hogan is well known as one of the most rabid social-patriots. As reported by the *New York Call*, during the war he was actively engaged in a number of affairs which had for their object the rousing of the "patriotic" spirit of the population. In short, he is one of the typical War Socialists, of whom there are more than plenty in Europe.

By appointing this lackey of the capitalist state as a representative of our Party at the Pan-American "Socialist" congress, no doubt the National Committee hoped that the State Department would put no obstacles to his departure for Buenos Ayres. But their calculations in this regard were wrong. The State Department has refused a passport to Dan Hogan, not because he was considered an "unreliable" person, but because the congress will be held in such an "unreliable" centre as Buenos Ayres.

Thus, once again the honor of our Party has been saved by our class enemies.

Left Wing Notes

THE Left Wing organization has decided to support the following nominees and asks all revolutionary Socialists to do likewise:

For the National Executive Committee, 1st District: N. J. Hourwich, N. Y.; Edward Lindgren, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Louis C. Fraia, Boston, Mass.
For International Delegates: I. E. Ferguson, Chicago, Ill.; John Reed, N. Y.; Louis C. Fraia, Boston, Mass.; C. E. Ruthenberg, Cleveland, O.

The following branches and locals have affiliated with the Left Wing Section:

Local Queens: Entire Local
Local Kings: 6th A. D., Branch 2
7th A. D., Branch 1
9th A. D., Branch 1
12th A. D., Branch 1
14th A. D., Branch 1
14th A. D., Jewish Branch
23rd A. D., Branch 1
All Russian Branches
All Lithuanian Branches
Minority Groups in all other branches.

Local New York: 1st A. D.
2nd A. D.
3rd, 5th and 10th A. D.
8th A. D.
8th A. D., Jewish Branch
All Russian Branches
All Jewish Branches
All Ukrainian Branches
German-Magyar Branch
Murray Hill German Branch
Lithuanian Branch
Minority Groups in all other branches.

Local Bronx: Entire Local
The following are the Left Wing papers in New York:

Der Kampf (The Struggle), Jewish; *Novy Mir* (The New World), Russian; *Elore*, (Forward), Hungarian; *Robitnik*, (The Worker), Ukrainian; *Uus Ma* (The New World) Estonian.

The 2nd A. D., Manhattan, will hold an open air meeting at Rutgers Square, on Saturday afternoon, April 26th, at 2 P. M., to protest against the imprisonment of Debs. Prominent Left Wing speakers will address the audience.

Turning to the Left!

The following locals throughout the country have adopted the Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing:

Local Boston, Mass.
Local Rochester, N. Y.
Local Buffalo, N. Y.
Local Denver, Colo.
Local Cleveland, O.
Local Essex County, N. J.
Local Tiffin, O.
Local Duluth, Minn.

The following states have been captured by the Left Wing:

Michigan
Massachusetts
Minnesota
Ohio

All Left Wing communications for this column should be addressed to Maximilian Cohen, 43 West 29th Street, and should reach him not later than Tuesday morning for insertion the same week.

A meeting of Jewish Left Wing members will be held in the Forward Building, 175 East Broadway, on Sunday, April 27, at 1 P. M., to consider the report of the newly elected Organization Committee with regard to the Jewish Federation. All Jewish Left Wing Members must come.

In view of the referendum on the State Executive Committee resolution to expel all branches and locals that have joined the Left Wing Section all the branches and locals throughout the State should make arrangements to have Left Wing speakers make one case.

Left Wing speakers can be secured by com-

municating with Maximilian Cohen, Secretary of the Left Wing Section, 43 West 29th Street, New York City.

REGULAR membership meeting of the Left Wing Section, Socialist Party, held April 20, 1919, at Manhattan Lyceum, 64 East 4th Street.

Meeting called to order at 2 P. M.
Ginsow elected chairman and Lindgren vice-chairman.
About 800 members were present.
An order of business was submitted, and with one amendment, to wit: that good and welfare be taken up before adjournment, was adopted.

A resolutions committee was selected, consisting of Wolfe, Cohen, Brodsky, Hourwich, MacAlpine, Lindgren, Blueglass, Eisner and Wilenski.
A motion was carried to have the proceedings of the meeting interpreted into Russian by Himmelfarb for those Russian members who are not familiar with the English language.

The executive secretary reported that the inception of the Left Wing Section dates back to the joint central committee meeting, where a portion of the members bailed and then retired to another part of the building and held a meeting of their own. The Left Wing Section has now a membership of about 4,000 in Greater New York, and has various local branches throughout the nation have become affiliated with the movement. This report was accepted.

The financial secretary reported the total receipts, since the first membership meeting of the Left Wing, were over \$1,000. That the expenditures amounted to about \$700 and that there is a balance of about \$300. Report was accepted.

An appeal was then made by the chairman for a contribution, and collection was taken up, which netted \$24.45.
A message sent by Comrade Mariens, who was unable to attend in person, extending his allegiance and support to the Left Wing movement, was delivered by Comrade Eisner.

The minutes of the city committee were read and accepted with one correction. A motion was carried to limit discussion on all questions to three minutes. The minutes of the last executive meeting were read and adopted. The resolution committee then reported as follows:

1st—May 1st resolution asking for a demonstration and strike on that day. The resolution was adopted by rising vote.

2nd—Lawrence strike resolution pledging moral and financial support to the Lawrence strikers. The resolution was accepted and a motion made that a collection be taken up. The motion was carried and a collection was made which netted \$143.65.

3rd—Political prisoners resolution—Declaring our solidarity and unity with imprisoned comrades and calling to the members of our class to organize for the release of all class war prisoners; to oppose participation in bourgeois liberal amnesty conventions and to define our attitude on that question at the National Emergency Convention. Resolution accepted.

4th—Local New York resolution—that Left Wing members of Local New York support the nomination of Max Cohen as the executive secretary of Local New York, and the nominations of Fraia, Hourwich and Lindgren as the delegates to the National Executive Committee and Fraia, Reed, Ferguson and Ruthenberg as the delegates to the International Congress. Resolution accepted.

5th—New York Call Resolution—to support the New York Call, provided that ownership and control of the New York Call is vested in the membership and that referendum on the question is taken immediately. Resolution adopted.

An announcement was made at this time that the Ukrainian Federation of the United States had joined the Left Wing. A motion was made in protest against the Federation calling itself a socialist party until it becomes Party owned and controlled, and to demand the removal of its name from the Party membership card. An amendment was made referring the matter to the City Committee, which was carried. The meeting then proceeded with the hearing of the resolutions.

6th—Socialist party—Demanding a referendum on the question of expulsion of party members and repudiating the reactionary measure of the State committee, and to stand behind every member, branch or organization expelled, and to express condemnation and contempt against those attempting to expel revolutionary elements. Resolution accepted.

7th—New York Executive Committee resolution—to instruct the membership of Greater New York to send full quota of delegates to the Conference of the Left Wing Section to be held in Boston in June. Resolution accepted.

8th—Instruction to Left Wing delegates—to empower the city committee to prepare and adopt all New York instructions for the guidance of Left Wing delegates to the Conference. Resolution accepted.

9th—On Mexico—pledging our class solidarity to the Mexicans. Resolution adopted and referred to the city committee for style.

A motion was then carried to instruct the city committee to draw up a leaflet on the Mexican situation and to submit same to the central committee for adoption. Resolutions were then read and the meeting reconvened and held later at about 7:30 P. M. The last resolution was taken up.

10th—The New York Communist—approving the action of the city committee in issuing the New York Communist and pledging our moral and financial support to same. Resolution adopted. Comrade MacAlpine then submitted the need of money for the issuance of the Communist, and asked for financial support. A motion was carried to hold a Red Week for the benefit of the Communist and the Jewish Kampf, consisting of mass meetings, concerts, lectures, etc. A motion was carried to elect a committee of three to devise ways and means of raising additional funds, the committee consisting of Comrades Solomon, Seeks and Vassili.

A resolution was then submitted asking that we endorse the Kampf as a Jewish Left Wing publication.

A motion was made to limit the vote of this Communist to Party members. The motion was defeated.

A motion was made to hold a parade on May 1st, starting at Rutgers Square and ending at Union Square. The motion was defeated.

The amendment to have a demonstration consisting of open air meetings was carried.

A motion was carried to send a telegram of good cheer to Debs.

A motion was carried to refer the election of delegates to the Left Wing Conference to the City Committee. Carried.

A motion was carried that the City Committee call a special membership meeting before the Left Wing Conference is held, and submit the names of the delegates elected and the instructions given them to be followed at the conference.

The 17th A. D. then reported that the Executive Committee on its own initiative dissolved their branch and then re-organized it. That no charges have ever been preferred against the branch nor did the Conference Committee take any action at any time on that branch.

That the re-organization committee meeting was held on Sunday, April 20th, and that only Right Wing members were permitted to enter the hall and participate in the proceedings. That 25 members attended that meeting and proceeded with the election of new delegates to the central committee, electing 12. That prior to this organization meeting, on Thursday, April 17th, at a regular meeting, 10 Left Wing delegates were elected to the Central Committee to replace the others. That in view of the organization meeting, they anticipate considerable trouble at the next Central Committee meeting, and asked for a committee from the meeting to co-operate with them in this fight. A motion was carried to elect such a committee, and the following were elected: Reed, Cohen, Joseph Brodsky, MacAlpine, Hourwich, Carl Brodsky and Hammer.

The meeting was then adjourned.

New York, April 9, 1919.

Mr. Maximilian Cohen, 43 West 29th St., N. Y. C.
My Dear Comrade Cohen:

I believe that I made it clear in the conference with your committee that there has never been a difference of principle between your organization and myself. I have stood for revolutionary Socialism, not only recently, but ever since I became an active member of the Socialist movement. And while it is true that my views, as those of the entire revolutionary movement everywhere, have become crystallized during the last four years into a more definite program, I can say for myself that I have been the same all the time.

Our differences have been in regard to tactics only. I was of the opinion that an organization as it exists here in New York—and I understand from your committee that nowhere else have such organizations been formed—would be a constant menace to the unity of the Party at this most critical time. I am fully aware that there are times when to preserve party unity under all circumstances means a sacrifice of principle. Thus, if the coming National Convention should declare itself against revolutionary Socialism, a split in the Party would be not only necessary but inevitable. But since I am still of the firm conviction that the party membership, in its overwhelming majority, stands with us, I thought that we took no chance in waiting for the worse. To speak.

But now I am convinced. It is a situation, not a theory. The organization is in the field and if the split is to be avoided at this time it can be done only by so strengthening it that the conservative and opportunistic forces in the party will not dare to force expulsions or employ preventive measures. In this connection I most protest that certain comrades of the Right have explained my refusal to join the organization of the Left by hurling attacks at the revolutionary principles. And the circumstance that my position in this regard has been misinterpreted and misused is not the least among the reasons that caused me to join the rank and file at this time.

Our tactical differences must disappear before the great task of transforming the Socialist Party of the U. S. into a powerful weapon for the emancipation of the revolutionary proletariat.

With fraternal greetings,

LEONARD LORR.

International Notes

Italy

THE Italian frontier is closed on account of internal disturbances. The following report of the action of the new Executive Committee of the Italian Socialist Party throws some light on the matter:

At the first meeting of the new Executive Committee of the Italian Socialist Party, held at Milan in the office of the *Avanti*, the following declaration, presented by Lazzari, was adopted:

"Today, the forty-eighth anniversary of the proclamation of the Paris Commune, the Executive Committee, at the beginning of its work, declares:

(a) That it remembers how the third defeat of the French proletariat, in the short starting space of half a century, has been gloriously vindicated by the Russian Soviet Revolution, marching firmly toward its own internal consolidation and the militant union of all the proletariat of Europe;

(b) Expresses the most fervent hopes of the Italian Socialist Party for the German and Austro-Hungarian revolutions, because it has entered with an ardor on the search for a true and real Socialist revolution;

(c) Denounces once again the illusions craftily disseminated in the Conference of Paris which, under the ingenious mask of Wilsonian bourgeois ideology, is recreating the Holy Alliance among the conquerors, to oppress not only politically but also economically the conquered populations, dumb victims of the mistakes and the rapacity of the bourgeoisie, captained by imperialistic militarism, and against the international proletariat;

(d) Sends its warm greetings to the Comrades recently liberated from prison and from internment, and restored to the civilian battalions of the Party with spirit more eager and determined;

(e) To our own member Arturo Vella and to all Comrades still in prison, sends the greetings of fraternal solidarity, in the certainty that the renewed action of the proletariat will achieve the speedy liberation of every victim of militarist-bourgeois persecution.

The order of the day also presented by Lazzari was approved as follows:

The Executive Committee noting with the greatest satisfaction the development and the progress of the organization of the Party, recommends to the sections to exercise the most rigid care in admitting former or new Comrades, holding incompatible the presence in the Party of anyone who has explicitly supported the war. (This refers to the Party's former resolution excluding all social-patriots).

The French and the Saar Miners

The following item is taken from *Socialist France*:

"In the Saar mining district negotiations between the miner's organizations and the French military commander in regard to the introduction of an eight-hour day have been going on. The French commander has given a flat refusal to the demands of the miners. He justifies his refusal by a statement as to the coal famine that prevails in France just as in Germany; and also by an assertion that the French miners have to work ten hours. In reply to the plea that the eight-hour system is in force in the Palatinat, he replied that it would be abolished as soon as the French troops entered the district."

The Soviet Strike in Ireland

The general strike in Limerick is spreading over the whole south and west of Ireland. A Soviet of strikers is already in complete operation and is even issuing its own currency. It is recognized by all sections of the population in Limerick as the source of authority, except of course by the British military. The city is in a state of siege and is encompassed by foot and mounted troops, while machine guns and artillery have been mounted. No one is allowed to enter the city without a permit.

The bourgeois press credits the strike to Sinn Féin, but it is the Labor movement which is in con-

ing after the fake decree had been published in that city by a bourgeois newspaper:

Examine!

You are defeated. You have reached such a low level that your cause is now desperate. You wish to continue living in idle luxury and have no work for you, and you find the revolution a menace to you. Examine, you slanders and misrepresent us when you say that we anarchists would use our liberty to enslave women.

You forget our cause to this vile decree that your vile hands have written. For centuries and all over the world, anarchists were fighting against all despotism, all force and all oppression. We ourselves have used force and violence only against our oppressors. We want to live and let live, in perfect freedom. Is it conceivable that we would now issue such a monstrous and contradictory decree?

Think for yourselves! Is it likely that anarchists would advocate or even permit such degradation of women?

You think only to provoke trouble. You are only trying to deceive the ignorant people. Don't you suppose we have wives, mothers, sisters and daughters of our own?

You provocateurs apparently don't know our strength; but you shall know. Death for provocateurs. Death, no matter who they are. We will make you pay for your vile crime. Anybody found circulating such dirty propaganda will be put in the same class. Everybody, whether with us or not, who opposes such contemptible propaganda methods deserves commendation.

With all our soul we fight on for all that is best for Russia."

Resolution Passed by the Conference of the Labor Unions of the City of Vladivostok and Vicinity with Reference to the Recent City Election.

The conference of the Labor Unions of the City of Vladivostok and Vicinity, upon considering the subject of the (City) elections, and realizing that at the present moment, when the reactionary forces have reached their fullest display, and when Siberia and the Far East had been divided up between domineering little kings and invaders, and participation in the institutions created by these "Bosses" would be a complete repudiation of working class politics; that the complete annihilation of the liberties conquered by the Great Revolutions of February and October, deprives the working class of every opportunity to conduct a systematic campaign;

That the candidates nominated by the Working Class in the Duma (City Council), if elected would unquestionably be refused admission to their offices;

That the entire policy of the various governments is directed to the humiliation and enslavement of the working class, as is apparent from the new election law;

That any work in the institutions which at present are carrying out the political and economic function of the Dictatorship, would be not only a repudiation of the Class Ideals of the Working Class, but would be a complete acknowledgment and recognition of the Dictatorship;

That the Duma (City Council), in view of the present conditions, would find itself powerless to levy any taxes on the propertied classes, and would find itself forced to increase the burdens upon the poorest part of the population;

That after the publication of the list (of candidates of the Labor Union) the various officials in power stubbornly refused permission, not only to issue a daily paper, but even a proclamation calling for the purpose of conducting campaign propaganda;

That under the pretence of various technical errors and formalities, more than one-half of the candidates nominated by the Central Bureau of the Labor Unions were eliminated from the ticket through formalities and technicalities created by these same officials;

That officials of the militia invaded a meeting of the conference of the Central Bureau of the Unions, interfering with the work, and because of the number of candidates have no protest, decided to be nominated;

And that because of all enumerated reasons, the attitude of the workers at this time, because of the oppressive political conditions, should be clearly one of boycott;

The conference, therefore, decided to withdraw ticket Number Eight (Labor Union Ticket), as a protest against the police persecution and censure; and as a demand for the restoration of all democratic liberties; Calling upon the workers to boycott the elections in an organized way, it declares that the elections will be participated in only by an insignificant part of the population, and that the Duma elected in such a manner will be clearly a one-sided one, and unrepresentative of the mass of the population;

The conference further demands that new elections be ordered under conditions whereby the working class will have an opportunity clearly and definitely to state its demands, and to obtain a representation in accordance with its numbers;

It is further resolved that this resolution be published and be brought to the attention of the Command of the Foreign Forces.

(Signed) ALEXANDER MORGOV, Chairman.
Secretary of Central Bureau of Trade Unions.

(Continued on page 7)

Below is a Reprint of a Circular Distributed Among British Soldiers in Russia by the Russian Soviet Government in Moscow.
It Will be of Interest to American Workers.

Quit Fighting, British Soldiers, and Join Your Russian Comrades!

English Prisoner from Archangel Front Writes to His Brother Scots

"Is it right for working people of one country to kill working people of another?"

The Allied troops, invading Russia, have so often been told that if they are taken prisoner they will be tortured and killed by the bolsheviks, that it is interesting to see what in fact happens when an English soldier falls into the hands of the Russian workmen and peasants' army. Here is the letter of a private of the Royal Scots taken prisoner last month near Archangel.

To the Men of the Royal Scots

Koktias, Monday, Oct. 14, 1918.

"I wonder if you all know the kind of men you are fighting. I do. You are fighting an army of working-men, and there are no officers amongst them. Everybody is the same. They ask, why do we fight them? Well, that is more than I can say, in fact, I don't know why we have come to fight them, and another thing that counts is, they don't want to fight us. They are not fighting their own class, the working class, but the capitalists of Russia and all countries. Since I have been a prisoner I have been treated as one of themselves, and given me plenty to eat and drink. I have also seen one of our men that lies in the hospital wounded. He tells me that he has been well treated and looked after as a friend, a working man, and not a soldier."

"Now I ask you this question, is it right, that the workingclass of one country should come and fight the working class of another country? We are not at war with Russia, and the Russians are not at war with us, but with the capitalists of all the countries; the people whom we work for and keep in poverty, while we, the working class, merely exist. If the working class knew why they are fighting and for who they would refuse to fight any longer. Think things over and ask yourselves, is it worth while killing each other to please other people, who care not what happens, as long as their pockets are being filled at our expense. From what I have seen the Russians are a good people and they are fighting for a good cause, a cause that every country in the world should follow."

"PRIVATE LAPHAM, 10TH ROYAL SCOTS."

trol of the situation, and sympathetic action is daily expected by the workers of the north and east, much unrest being manifested in Belfast and throughout the textile centers of Ulster.

Russia

In view of the fact that the editors of *The New Europe*, the first paper to print the alleged Soviet decree on the nationalization of women have solemnly withdrawn the charge and apologized for its service it is interesting to read the following translation of the *Avantgarde*'s denial of their part in the affair, posted on the walls of Sarnov the morn-

A Window on the World

Daughters of Revolutionary Americanism

MRS. George Thatcher Guernsey, president general of the Daughters of the American Revolution, an organization of women who make a point of having forgotten what the American Revolution was about, appears to have a prejudice against the rest of mankind.

"It has been demonstrated," Mrs. Guernsey declared, "that one of the great bars to patriotism is a foreign language. The use of a foreign language in our public schools has been almost an act of treason. We might as well have been teaching French or German, and far better, for Sanskrit would not have kept American youths from growing American souls."

She also has her ideas about the subtle kitchen-propaganda employed by enemy aliens here with such conspicuous success during the war.

"What kind of an American consciousness can you grow," she added, "in an atmosphere of sauerkraut and limburger cheese? Or what can you expect of the Americanism of the man whose breath always reeks of garlic?"

If it hadn't been for a lot of these despised foreigners, who doubtless spoke in alien tongues, and whose breath perhaps reeked with sauerkraut and garlic, Mrs. Guernsey's heroic ancestors would probably be still running from the British redcoats. How about Von Steuben, Pulaski, Kosciuszko, Lafayette?

Anyway, what we need is not *Daughters of the American Revolution*—but *Mothers of the American Revolution*.

Look Out Russia! Keep Your Hand on Your Watch!

THE Allies and the American Government are beginning to talk soft about Soviet Russia. As several times before, the diplomats are addressing honeyed words to the Bolsheviks, and carefully spreading rumors that the Soviet Government is about to be recognized.

Every time this has happened so far, it has been followed by brutal and treacherous attacks. What are the imperialists cooking up now? Depend upon it, they do not intend to allow Soviet Russia to exist if they can help it. They intend to crush the Proletarian Republic, and with them the international working-class organization which is now beginning to take shape.

It is now four months since the Governments of the United States and Great Britain solemnly announced that they had decided to withdraw their troops from Siberia and Archangel. They have since been reinforcing them. In fact, we see by today's papers that the Allies in the North are advancing, and driving the Russians southward, as they are also pushing on in the East. But they are getting craftier; the newspapers now talk of the "loyal Russians" as advancing, and keep the Allied troops merely in the background. But we happen to know that even by promises of food, conscription, and the starvation and punishment of the inhabitants who refuse to fight, the Allies have only been able to get a handful of Russians to join the "loyal troops."

Something is up. Some dark business is being hatched. We have no fear of results; so far, the results of the Allied invasion of Russia have been to unite the Russians around the Soviet Government, and strengthen class-consciousness among the workers all over the world.

But just this once, Russia, look out for that gold brick!

What's a Program?

"We shouldn't spend our time quarreling among ourselves about right and left wing programs, but fight the common enemy." Thus writes a Comrade. And immediately we ask "What's a program?" and our answer is: that a program is a weapon, a weapon in the class war against capitalism.

Presumably the comrade isn't particular about the weapon he uses so long as he's in action. He can't bear to "waste time" deciding upon a choice of weapons, but would seize the first to hand, whether it was an effective or not—whether it melted in his hand or could be sent ripping into the citadel of the enemy.

Then the thought comes that through the wise choice of weapons and their efficient use we will win. Time spent in carefully, even quarrellingly selecting our weapons at each stage of the development of the class war will be well spent. Weapons must be chosen. Let us choose them well. And remember, "the autocrats of industry do not run business at the ballot box." Neither do they rob the worker there.—*The Ohio Socialist*.

International Notes

(Continued from page 6)

A Letter from the Workers' Red Cross of the Labor Union of Vladivostok.

December 28, 1918.

To all Workingmen and Workingwomen of the United States: Comrades:

After the terrible invasion of our country and the overthrow of the Soviet Government by the Allies, upon the false pretensions of the Czech-Slovaks and the Russian capitalists, in the city of Vladivostok and all over Siberia began a period of terrible oppression for the Russian working class.

Thousands upon thousands of working people, peasants, and students were shot. In Khabarovsk, a city of about twenty thousand inhabitants, twelve hundred people were butchered by the Japanese and Cossacks. In the city of Krasnoyarsk thousands were slain by the Russian White Guards, with the help of Italian regiments. English regiments also participated in the suppression and massacre of tens of thousands of revolting peasants. Every day new cemeteries had to be laid out. At the present time thousands of other comrades are rotting in jail without any charges against them. Their wives and children are suffering from hunger and cold, because they have no means of relief except through the Workers' Organizations, which exist illegally. The need is desperate, and the Russian organizations can be of little help with their meagre resources.

Moreover, many factories are closed, and the workers cannot find employment.

Notwithstanding these terrible circumstances, we, the Workers' Red Cross of Russia, have applied for assistance to the American Red Cross; but this organization, which is supposed to render aid to all without exception, without regard to their political beliefs, has not even favored us with a reply.

In this critical hour, when part of the Russian workers and peasants are estranged between the struggles of the International Capitalists, while the part on the other side of the Ural Mountains (European Russia), are bleeding to death in the uneven struggle with enemies on every side—in this hour we turn to you with the following demands:

First: against the organized massacre of your brethren. Demand the withdrawal of American and Allied troops from Russia.

Second: the call of tens of thousands imprisoned, and lighten the sufferings of orphan children and destitute families with brotherly help.

With comradely regards,

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE RUSSIAN WORKERS' RED CROSS
VLADIVOSTOK.

AND OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF LABOR UNION
AMSTERDAM.

The Social Democratic Party of New South Wales, in its latest program, has declared its aim to be the same as those of the Bolshevik and Spartacist movements.

The Telescope

THE capitalist solution of unemployment is machine guns.

"The I. W. W. solution is more jobs by means of less hours."—*The Rebel Worker*.

The Left Wing solution is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

• • •

Now comes the question: Will the Turkish Soviet nationalise women or will it merely introduce state ownership and control of harvest?

• • •

The Bolsheviks are now in the throes of their annual spring collapse. The summer collapse is scheduled for July 1, the autumn disaster is expected about the middle of October, but the date of the winter debacle is not yet fixed owing to the deadlock in the bourgeois press editorial conferences over the relative propaganda value of Christmas Day and the first of the New Year.

• • •

THE NEW YORK COMMUNIST is staggering under its first blow from Democracy—WE HAVE BEEN BARRED FROM THE RAND SCHOOL.

• • •

We suppose now that we are down Barlowen will kick us.

• • •

It being rumored that a general amnesty will shortly be granted all Left Wingmen in Federal prisons or under indictment, it will now be in order for the Rights to prefer charges for malicious slander or Bolshevik tendencies.

• • •

How wrong is a Right?

• • •

We learn that the Rand School has engaged at tremendous expense the delegates to the Bern Conference for a series of exclusive lectures on *The Disastrous Effects of a Left Wing in Russia*.

• • •

The Central Committee of Local New York, having become too unwieldy for the machine, is temporarily disbanded until communications can be opened up with Comrade Scheidemann.

• • •

It is rumored that one of the leaders of the Siamese Socialist Party will address the next meeting of the Central Committee in his native tongue. His speech, which will be devoted to Unity, will be interpreted by a prominent Right Wing.

• • •

There being some confusion towards the end of the last Central Committee, the Comrade Police Captain made a motion to adjourn.

• • •

The following have adopted the Left Wing Manifesto and Program:

Locals Russia, Hungary, Bavaria, Turkey, Lithuania and Linowick.

Meetings to discuss Party tactics are scheduled in the following branches: Austria, Saxony, Italy, Prussia, Poland, Bohemia, Serbia, Ireland, Egypt, Korea and Argentina. It is expected that Locals France and England will shortly recall their delegates to the Central Committee in Paris. Action is pending on Comrade Balkmeister, who refuses to be recalled.

2010年12月10日